

*Delivered in the Senate of North Carolina, November 27,  
upon the following Resolutions submitted by himse/f*

"In bustling as the factories in every North Carolina jail of the character of his State, they are nevertheless true, and the people would profit from them if hereafter in all matters deeply affecting their own interests, they would seek the truth from more reliable sources, than newspapers in Washington City dependent for existence upon official patronage.

At the last session of our Legislature, two years ago, more than twelve months before the war, it was that I sent a resolution upon the subject of what is called a compromise upon the subject of the series of resolutions passed upon the same subject, expressing what was thought to be nearly the unanimous opinion of the people of North Carolina. I will now read two of these resolutions for the reflection of the Senate. The fourth resolution is in these words:

*Resolved, That the enactment of any law by Congress which shall abolish slavery, and thereby directly or indirectly deprive the citizens of the States of this right of emigrating with their slave property into any of the Territories of the United States, and of exercising ownership over the same, while in the said Territories, and of disposing of the same, contrary to the true meaning and spirit of the Constitution, and never contemplated by the framers thereof.*

This resolution passed the Senate with but two dissenting votes, and the House with but ten.

The fifth resolution is in these words:

*Resolved, That while we do not intend hereby to be understood as conceding that Congress has the power under the Constitution, to enact a law prohibiting slavery in any portion of the Territories of the United States, yet for the sake of preserving the peace and promoting the welfare of the people of North Carolina, and the basis of the Missouri Compromise should be adopted in preference to the recently acquired territories of New Mexico and California, by extending the line then agreed upon to the Pacific Ocean.*

This resolution passed the Senate with but two dissenting voices, and the House still with nearly an equal vote, by both political parties.

I would ask the Senate to remember that these resolutions were passed before the coming in of General Taylor's administration, before any action had been taken either with California or New Mexico to make their accomplishment impossible; they were I may say the unanimous opinion of the two parties in the Senate at that time—the Whigs and the Democrats. A State deeply interested in the question of slavery, a State which has been always conservative in her character, and which gave a large majority for the elevation of General Taylor to the Presidency.

These resolutions were laid before the Congress of the United States, but attracted no attention, and produced no results, and simply now serve as a record that the Legislature of North Carolina was anxious for the peace and perpetuity of the Republic in an important crisis. In governments constituted like ours based upon public opinion, Legislative bodies can simply point the way: for all other purposes their acts are inefficient, unless sustained by the active co-operation of the people.

The cry of disunion raised in Washington City late in the spring, and an agitator movement calculated to alarm the public mind and divert it from a sober and attentive consideration of the action of the Federal Government. And, sir, the planners of this movement have succeeded marvellously; they have persuaded the people to believe, that the late compromise, passed in entire contempt and disregard of the resolutions of our Legislature, has saved the Union, and launched it forward in a long career of honor and prosperity.

I have never, Mr. Speaker, at any time believed there was danger of a violent dismemberment of this confederacy. My reading of history teaches me that there is but one instance on record, of a people fighting for a great principle. I allude to the revolution of '76, an era when land jobbers, speculators in government contracts or in the public funds, had but little regard for the rights of the people. The spirit of virtuous sentiment is gone, and has been succeeded by one of cold pretence.

The Southern people now are too comfortable and prosperous to resist the action of the Federal Government with any other weapon than resolutions, and mass meetings, which have ceased to attract any attention. In the action of the Federal Government, means to be used for the prosperity of the people, and to settle the question of slavery, when it is visible to the dullest capacity, and when it is in their might, but it will be like the rising of Sampson after he had been shorn of his strength in his hours of dalliance; they may pull down the temple of liberty, but they will not be able to preserve it, or strengthen it.

I have never, sir, become a man of history that had seen the North and South, and the Southern States, zealously co-operated in urging the principles laid down in these resolutions, the Missouri Compromise line would have been extended to the Pacific, and opened that vast region to slave emigration for all time to come. I contented moreover that this is the only way to settle this great question, without bringing incalculable evils upon the country, evils of which no legislation can remedy.

It is a little remarkable that throughout the long discussion on this subject, the men of the South, the most liberal principles seemed to think that the institution of slavery was a great industrial interest, which the Federal Government had no right to destroy directly or indirectly. The slave property of the South is worth upon a moderate estimate 10000 millions of dollars; it is the source of two thirds the revenue of the Government, and yet the Federal Government not only denies all obligation to protect its numerous enemies, but most grudgingly and reluctantly carried out in the fugitive slave bill an express clause of the Constitution. I do not believe there is a government on earth—no, not the autocrat of all the Russias, which would treat so large and important a portion of its subjects with such harsh and cruel injustice.

I am manifestly now the settled determination of the majority of Congress to permit no more slave territory to be added to the Union—to restrict slavery within its present boundaries. Such sentiments have been announced upon the floor of the Senate by the two leading minds of the country, Messrs. Clay and Webster, one a Southern, the other a Northern man. Upon this principle the late compromise was made, and as such has been accepted by the people of North Carolina. It becomes to us now to examine our situation, and see what is to be our future condition under the operation of this law.

It is worse than idle for any man to distract his mind with discussion whether slavery is an evil or a blessing. We find it an institution existing amongst us, forming the substratum of our social system, which no legislation can remove, and with which all interfering proceeds more evil than good. In my judgment, the only way to settle the question of the African to be brought here for wise and beneficent purposes. Guided by the science and energy of the white man, the power of endurance of the negro race has been the sole and only means; of reducing vast regions of malarious country into cultivation, which would otherwise forever have remained a wilderness; and, sir, unless mistaken legislation interferes, when the time comes, the people of North Carolina, with scrutable wisdom may carry it to other regions similarly situated, to subdue the earth and to replenish it.

Why then should the black race be confined within their present limits? Why not throw as wide as possible the doors of emigration that they may gradually and without disturbing the industry of the country, and without any expense, settle the same in the States, and constitutions, than North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland? This would have been the part of wisdom, but the abolitionists objected, and the General Government yielded to their objections. The American Government in its suicidal liberality invites to California the inmates of the poor houses and work-shops of Europe—the semi-barbarous inhabitants of China, and the degraded Islanders, and the escaped convicts from Australia and the felonious visitors of the same. I welcome to all the world to dig gold upon the public land, except to the sober and patient laborer of the South; he alone is excluded.

There is one view of the slave question, to which I wish to call the attention of this Senate, and if possible, through them, of the people of North Carolina. It is this: that the people of North Carolina, that the North is dissatisfied with the late adjustment or compromise of the slave question; that having excluded the slave holder from all the benefits of California and New Mexico, and arrested the slave trade in the District of Columbia, she is contented with her triumph and will cease all further aggressions against slavery.

It is now a settled principle that slavery must be abolished, and that the present limitation of the whole power of the Federal Government, being

[illegible]

ber being represented by an avowed consolidationist rather than by one of your States-right-men, afraid to express his real opinions. I can hope for something from the generosity and candor of the one called nothing from the timidity of the other, in private, as in public affairs, there is no counsel so dangerous as fear.

The Honorable Senator further says in his speech "I acknowledge no more a power of disposing of obligations I have undertaken to discharge to my Country and that Government (meaning the General Government and the United States,) and which obligations I have undertaken to fulfill. I acknowledge I have no more authority in the State of North Carolina to dispose of that obligation, than in the State of Virginia, or the State of New Hampshire to do it."

This opinion involves the whole question. If the majority of the people of North Carolina have no rightful authority through their Legislature or otherwise to command the obedience of all her citizens, the Honorable Senator is right, and this second objection to her resolution is correct.

Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Senator has fallen in an error from a misapprehension of the doctrine of allegiance, and the extent of his duties to the General Government. He owes no other allegiance to the United States than that portion of the general allegiance due his native State, which she has transferred to a foreign Government; and, sir, to see and defend her territory, to transfer, the duties of citizenship, viz: the constitution of the United States is the only evidence. If the contract is violated, or destroyed, the parties relapse back to their original station, and inherent rights. North Carolina adopts the constitution of the United States in her aggregate capacity of one community, and whatever rights reserved in that instrument, she reserved in the same aggregate capacity; nor did she by so doing, relinquish any further rights to the United States. Primary allegiance is due from all her citizens to alone; that secondary allegiance which she has transferred, is due the United States.

This view of the doctrine of allegiance is sustained by Mr. Madison in his argument in the case of Ramsay vs. Smith in the House of Representatives in 1789—a contested election. Mr. Madison then said "The established maxim, that her citizenship is a criterion of allegiance. There is a distinction between that primary allegiance we owe that particular society of which we are members, and the secondary allegiance we owe to the sovereign established by that society."

What was the situation of the people of America when the dissolution of their allegiance took place by the declaration of their independence? I conceive that every person who owed this primary allegiance to his native community in which he was born, retained his right of birth, as a member of a new community; that he was consequently absolved from the secondary allegiance he owed to the British Sovereign. If he were not a minor, he became bound by his own act as a member of the society who separated with him from a submission to a foreign Country. When that society separated from Great Britain, it was bound by the rights and allegiance transferred to that society, or to the sovereign with which that society should set up; because it was through membership of that society of South Carolina that he owed allegiance to Great Britain."

Mr. Speaker, should the Senate reject this second resolution, it will be virtually admitting that the State of North Carolina, as an organized political community, has no right to command the allegiance of its citizens. If the Senate consent that all persons owe their property against any aggression of the Federal Government. If such are the opinions of a majority of the people of the State, it is proper that it should be known, that such of her citizens as desire a better protection for their property may seek other communities which may not have such humble notions of their duties and responsibilities. This extreme course of any judgment need never be resorted to. If the North Carolina people were to consent, it meant what this resolution says, she would not retard the vast benefits she derives from the Union, and all the negroes in Africa. This Union may a few years longer, but unless the rights and equity of the States are preserved in all their integrity its termination is not very remote. The people of the State will consent that all persons who the consolidated Government shall shape their destiny all time to come.

The fifth resolution speaks of the character and necessities of slave property. In addition, Mr. Speaker, to what I have already said on this subject I would remark that expansion or emigration necessary want of slavery; without it, the institution cannot exist, and must come to an end, not very remote, entailing in Africa the unavoidable ruin of the white population. You are now launching forward in the career of internal improvement you are about issuing State bonds to the amount of \$2,000,000 payable in thirty years. I do not assent to the character of a prophet, but if the history of the past is any evidence of the future, I will venture to predict that while some of the younger members of the Senate may be content to allow in which these bonds become due, the poorest people in North Carolina will be her largest slave holders, if it is in policy of the Federal Government is carried out in all its vigour. More than half your revenue is derived from slave labor, and whilst you are increasing the burdens on that labor, you are voting to a policy which will ultimately render it valueless.

There are some other matters, Mr. Speaker, which I would like to touch on, but I will conclude by urging the Senate to pass these or similar resolutions and you may convince congress and your representatives that you "know your rights and knowing do maintain them;" that you claim and will have for your citizens a greater allegiance than they owe Virginia, North Carolina, and thus the cause of Boston governed abolition is not the cause of the Union. Such sentiments may elicit a puff from a Boston Journal, but will never procure justice to the people of North Carolina.

In our confederacy, the words of the poet are philosophically the words of wisdom: to "thine own be true, thou canst not then be false to any one." North Carolina be true to her own interest, and cannot then be false to the Union.

**READY MADE CLOTHING.**  
At Wholesale and Retail.

WE have just received from one of the largest and best established Houses in the United States one of the largest assortments of ready made clothing for a City, a Stock that would not only be a great addition to the Custom Work of any Establishment in the Union, which we are instructed to sell at unprecedented prices, and to which we invite the attention of Country Storekeepers, and Merchants, the surrounding County, and Members of the next General Assembly, and them to call and examine our Stock before purchased elsewhere, as we are determined to sell at prices which will defy competition.

Our Merchandise need have no fears of finding sale with a broken assortment, as we shall continue to have large additions throughout the Season.

In addition to the above, we have a full assortment of fine Shirts, Jumps and other patterns, together with Shirts, Pants, Linen and Wool Shirts and Drawers.

All of which we are glad to see as they can be purchased at any Establishment in New York or any other City.

A. B. STITH & CO.  
Raleigh, Nov. 6, 1850. 840—w4

**FEMALE SCHOOL.**  
HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

THE winter session of Mr. & Mrs. Burwell's School for young Ladies will begin on Thursday, 9th January:

Board and Tuition, ..... 67  
Music on Piano or Guitar, ..... 20  
Use of Instrument for practice, ..... 5  
Of which we will set as low as they can be  
French, ..... 10  
Dutch, ..... 5  
Latin, ..... 5  
Washing per session, ..... 5

When two or more pupils come from the same family the charge for washing will be \$2.50 for each. As number of pupils is limited, persons desirous of securing places should make early application. For circulars containing all necessary information, address Rev. E. W. Wells, Hillsborough, N. C.

Dec. 11, 1850. 12—w4

The Raleigh Register, Wilmington Chronicle, Fayetteville Observer, and the Newbern Journal, will insert notices week for week.

**2000** lbs. Sperm and Tallow Candles, (all the best Brands,) just received by

The 20th of December; and the next session will commence on Thursday, January 2nd. Students are requested to be present at the commencement of the session.

The School continues under the superintendence of Rev. James A. Dean, M. A., as Principal, and B. F. Larabee, B.A. as Associate. The Academy is new, and is so constructed as to accommodate over four Teachers. It is hoped that the friends of education will rally around it, and furnish a sufficient number of students to test its capability.

Three objects will constantly be kept in view:

- 1st. To promote thorough scholarship,
- 2d. To save the students from the contamination of vice, and still into their minds moral and religious principles;
- 3d. To prepare them generally for general knowledge. No one will be spared to obtain all these ends.

South Lowell Academy is a "Preparatory School," Randolph Macon College; but the course of instruction is such as to prepare for any College in the country; it is equally adapted to such as do not intend to go to a Collegiate course.

Expenses as heretofore, viz: Tuition \$10 00—Board &c \$15 00. Board in the best families, \$8 per session.

South Lowell is in Orange county, North Carolina, 36 miles west of Henderson, and about the same distance North-west of Raleigh.

D. C. PARRISH, Sec. Etc.  
November 28, 1850. 844

### PLEASANT GROVE ACADEMY FRANKLIN COUNTY, N. C.

THE Exercises of this Institution will commence Monday the 6th of January next, under the patronage of Mr. Edwin L. Barrett, a gentleman eminently qualified to instruct in all the branches taught in preparation for Colleges.

Schools. The Academy will be neat and commodious situated about 200 yards from the residence of the subscriber, known to be one of the most healthy localities in the State, and equidistant from Louisburg or Shocco Springs.

A student can be had with the subscriber, at \$6 monthly, and also in the families of Mr. Joseph J. Wm. Thomas A. Person, Mrs. Elizabeth Branch, &c. all convenient to the Academy, at the above rates.

Parents and guardians may rest assured, that attention will be paid, both to the morals and pursuits of the students; and owing to the healthfulness of the situation, the purity of the water, and the vicinity of the neighborhood, the public and particularly living in the lower country, would do well to give institution a trial.

TUITION PER SESSION.  
For the Languages, and higher English branches Lower English branches,  
Address the Subscriber, Louisburg, N. C.

WM. J. BRANFORD  
December 1st, 1850. 845—  
Register and Spirit of the Age copy 4 times, v

### TAR RIVER ACADEMY GRANVILLE COUNTY, N. C.

THIS School will be opened for the reception of pupils on the first Monday in February, 1851.

This Academy is located 9 miles West of Ocotilla a neighborhood proverbially healthy, and the Pupils have every facility to attend divine worship, as both a Baptist and Presbyterian Church within of the Academy.

The Trustees have secured the services of Mr. Smith, a gentleman of considerable experience of Mr. Edwin L. Barrett, to prepare boys for Colleges. The Trustees are determined to sustain a good school in the neighborhood, (all of them having children in their own to educate) and have therefore put the following very low rates:

Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, - -  
English Grammar and Geography, - - -  
The Higher Branches of English, - - -

The Session commences on the 1st of January.

Good board can be had in highly respectable families for \$5 per month. Any information respecting Scholastic pay by had by addressing Lewis P. Allen River, P. O., Granville co., N. C.

December 1st, 1850. 845

### FEMALE INSTITUTE, WARRENTON, N. C.

THE Twentieth Semi-annual Session of this Institute will commence on the 1st Monday in January, 1851.

This location is pleasant, proverbially healthy, and free from pestilential influences. The year's tuition is so arranged and conducted as to combine the greatest advantages with the least expense, and competent and efficient instruction in all of the branches of an accomplished Female Education.

The Board and Tuition in all the branches except Diploma and Gold Medal will not exceed \$5 per term.

The Ornamental branches, embracing Instruction in Music, Wax Fruit and Flowers, Ancient and Modern Languages, Drawing and Painting in Oil and Colors, at the usual prices.

Vocal Music, Needle and Fancy work, gratis.

The Libraries of the Principals are accessible to all scholars.

Lectures upon Literary and Scientific subjects appropriate experiments will be delivered during the vacation.

Ry. N. L. GRAVES,  
J. WILCOX,  
L. C. GRAVES,  
Associate Principals

November 30, 1850.

### SEDGEWICK FEMALE SEMINARY RALEIGH, N. C.

THE Spring term of this Institution will open Tuesday the first day of January, 1851.

Terms per Session of five months, (payable in advance)  

Board and English Tuition,	\$6
Musical Piano or Guitar,	- 2
Use of Instrument,	" "
Latin and French, each,	" "
Incidental Expenses,	" "

Nov. 30, 1850. MRS. J. J. FINCH, Prncipal. 844

### THE SCHOOL AT HAMILTON MARTIN CO. N. C.

MRS. J. H. HORNER resumes charge of the school at Hamilton, the 1st Monday in January next.

In the Classical department the studies, as hitherto been strictly preparatory to the University.

Bonaparte's family and Tuition per Session of five months, - - - \$5

Hamilton is situated on an elevated plain near Lake river, twelve miles above Williamston, and is regarded a healthy locality.

P. P. CLEMENTS, Sec. Board of Reg'n.  
Hamilton, October, 1850. 839

### The Rev. Dr. Hooper's Family School In the Country, Near Littleton Depot WARREN COUNTY, N. C.

Teachers.—REV. WM. HOOPER, PROF. J. D. NIEMERHOOFER, AND THOMAS C. HOOPER.

THE Next session will commenced on the first day of January. It is requested that those who tend to send, will make early application.

Nov. 23, 1850.

### Dan River Institute YANCEYVILLE, N. C.

THE Spring session of this School will commence Tuesday, the 7th of January.

Board in the village and vicinity, from \$5 to \$10 per month.  
A. C. LINDSAPE,  
Teacher of Language,  
B. GOULD,  
Teacher of Mathematics

December 11, 1850. 12—

### St. MARY'S SCHOOL RALEIGH, N. C.

THE 18th Term of this School will commence on the fourth day of January 1851, and continue till the 7th of June.

For a Circular containing full particulars, apply to the Subscriber. ALDELT SNEDES, Proprietor.  
December 4th, 1850. 11—

FOR \$450.

tered. JOS. BRIDGE

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1038.